6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

Eurasian steppes. As it had been a long-established practice among these predatory marauders, the war leader who showed himself competent in organizing a successful war expedition or in controlling a certain area would soon collect a considerable retinue of warriors. When Slavicized, the chieftain of such a band of raiders was known as *voyvoda* (warleader) or *knyaz* (prince). His retinue became known as the *druzhina* (band). The most outstanding members among these *druzhiniki* (band-men) and *muzhi* (men) formed an inner advisory body (*veche*) to the warleader or prince and became known as the "leading men" (*muzhi perednie*), or *boyari*. The voyvoda would reward his druzhina or boyars for their services by granting them land and dividing war booty with them.

It is important to note, however, that the boyars at this time received the granted lands as perpetual hereditary homesteads, and that they were free to leave one prince and enter the service of another at any time.[11] Before the formation of the Muscovite Empire, the plains between the Volga and Dnieper rivers were controlled by numerous such petty potentates, each surrounded by a retinue of boyars and other servicemen. Under those conditions there was no possibility of preventing these professional warriors from leaving one warleader and entering into the service of another. The only way for a local prince to retain his druzhina was by being successful in warfare, collecting large war booty, and offering land and villages together with the peasants in hereditary possession to his comrades in arms.[12]

In the meantime another stratum of the population was being formed in the centers of trade, that of the city people or burghers. The nomadic conquerors were not only looters and pirates, but traders as well. They traded in what they looted. When their authority was well established, they endeavored to promote centers and routes of commerce as a means of increasing their wealth. It was in these centers of trade and market places that cities developed. Soon city people became stratified into the well-to-do (*zhitie lyudi*) and the lower urban classes (*molodshie lyudi*). In these urban centers where the warriors became traders the trend was toward concentration of power in the hands of the economically powerful, just as among the professional military

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

class the tendency was toward the concentration of power in the hands of the more mighty princes.[13]

This concentration of power in the hands of the city plutocracy found its expression in the principle of an unanimity vote in the city assembly (*Veche*). Data on the early political and social organization of the Russian urban communities show that the unanimity in decisions was the rule. The old documents about these gatherings tell us that "what has been established by the oldest city, is maintained by its boroughs," that "all thought and spoke as one man," that all were unanimous in the desire," and that the decision was reached "by all the oldest and all the youngest men of the assembly."[14]

But we also learn that this unopposed group consensus was achieved by means of threat and terror against all those who might show an inclination to disagree or who disagreed after the assembly had been held and after a resolution had been passed. The dissenters were often beaten with rods, despoiled of their property, or murdered. Sometimes they might escape such fate if ready to pay a fine that varied according to the rank of the dissenter. In this manner a minority, backed by physical force was able to enforce its will on the rest under the guise of "unanimity."[15]

Pressure for the unanimous consent on the part of the people was applied also in the village assemblies, and later in the land commune (*mir*). In some other customs of the Great-Russian peasantry, even in our own times, the unanimous consent was considered necessary. In marriage ceremonies, for instance, custom demanded that the bride when leaving her parental home obtain blessing from all her neighbors. There was, however, a threat against neighbors who refused their blessing. Curses were invoked against them: "Those who do not bless her, may they never marry their sons and daughters" (*Kto ne blagoslovit tomu vek sinov ne zhenit a docheri za muzh ne vdavat*).[16]

The principle of unanimity was apparently the procedure in the local assemblies of the Old-Slavonic soil cultivators of the Dnieper river basin. Such an unanimity was also practiced until our times in the Zadruga society of Croatia.[17] But in those pacific and anarchic societies the principle of unanimity was real, not

7:Lineva B-5 (no date)1893 RFl Great Russia RFl

535
527
361

HOLIDAY IN A RUSSIAN VILLAGE.